

LAND OF APOCALYPSE: JAMES MCAULEY'S ENCOUNTER WITH THE SPIRIT: THE FRENCH CATHOLIC MISSIONS OF THE SACRED HEART, KUBUNA AND YULE ISLAND, NEW GUINEA

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Abstract

The Australian poet and aspiring, if polemic, public intellectual James McAuley was admitted to the Catholic faith in May 1952. He was 34. Testimonies from his notebooks, correspondence, essays and poems from that period suggest the significant role in his “conversion” of his encounter with the French Catholic Mission of the Sacred Heart in Kubuna, in his visits to New Guinea as lecturer at the Australian School of Pacific Studies (ASOPA). McAuley’s encounter with New Guinea, described as a “school of sanctity”, can be seen as the culmination of his ongoing dialectic in essays at that time on the spiritual condition and the loss of tradition in contemporary mid-twentieth century post-Christian society. He considered his own time to be part of a wider post-Renaissance epoch he named “modernity” (*The End of Modernity*, 1959). This paper examines these testimonies, including key poems, from 1951-1953 to show how McAuley’s view of what he saw as the originary world of New Guinea emerging into a materialist mid-twentieth century reinforced his dark vision of modernity. In particular the paper focusses on how McAuley saw the western Catholic tradition, as interpreted by the French Catholic mission in Kubuna, including its charismatic Archbishop Alain de Boismenu and the legendary mother-superior Marie Thérèse Noblet, as offering respite for the New Guinea people and, in the end, himself in a global post-colonial encounter with modernity.

McAuley was only 59 when he died in 1976. It’s surprising, even for someone well acquainted with McAuley to reckon, that in that relatively short life, dedicated to poetry, literature and public life, he was, as he admitted in his 1961 essay “My New Guinea” (MNG) “Bound to New Guinea concerns for 17 years” (22). This he confessed was “as a performing flea in Alf Conlon’s performing circus” (23). That “remarkable circus” was a succession of evolving institutions to which McAuley and other mainly Sydney University colleagues of Conlon had been initially co-opted for their war-time service.

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Conlon was in charge of the war-time Defence Directorate of Research and Civil Affairs (DORCA), based in Melbourne, which closer to the end of the war (early 1944) became the School of Civil Affairs (SCA), based in Canberra, responsible for training patrol officers for the Australian New Guinea Administration Unit (ANGAU) in preparation for New Guinea’s independence. The School would be transferred to Sydney in 1946 and renamed the Australian School of Pacific Administration (ASOPA).

McAuley was transferred into ASOPA in March 1946 to teach colonial government to trainee patrol officers. He worked in a team headed by anthropologists from the London School of Economics, Camilla Wedgwood and Lucy Mair. McAuley, though still young (27) was already establishing his reputation as a modern poet in Australia, coming to notice at this time through his involvement in the Ern Malley anti-modernist hoax poems. Though he had had some experience at DORCA assembling maps of New Guinea for the Australian defending forces, with the help of Mitchell Librarian Ida Leeson, he had little experience in anthropology or political science.

For this highly capable scholar of the classics, philosophy and modern English, the period from 1944 onward represented a steep learning curve in anthropology, cultural history and political philosophy. McAuley’s own reading on Traditional philosophers, encouraged by his Ern Malley collaborator Harold Stewart, also part of Conlon’s “circus,” would push his reading in the direction of medieval philosophy and theology—the church fathers Saints Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, including through the philosopher and historian Étienne Gilson’s *The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy* (1936) as well as the Austro-American political philosopher, Eric Voegelin’s *The New Science of Politics* (1952).

In his 17-year association with New Guinea between 1944 -1961 McAuley visited the northern Island probably 7 to 8 times, usually for one to two months at a time. He became strongly committed to the School’s objectives— “the “Ward policy” of reform and development” (MNG, 30) for the decolonisation of New Guinea. Because of his commitment to his work with New Guinea McAuley twice refused offers of, what would later be much coveted, academic appointments —from the University of Melbourne (c.1945-46) and the London School of Economics (1947).

His first contact with the French Mission of the Sacred Heart, Kubuna, 100 km north-west of Port Moresby, seems to have occurred in his first visit early in 1944, and in many subsequent visits until his last in February 1960. He resigned from ASOPA in 1961 after his eventual appointment to

academia as Reader in Poetry at the University of Tasmania in May 1961.

This paper draws from a reading of McAuley's public comments on New Guinea, development and the missions, in his essays and lecture notes. McAuley may have had a hand in writing, with his supervisor Lucy Mair, the undated teaching paper written after 1944 titled "Christianity and Western Civilisation" to be delivered to patrol officers preparing for their postings to New Guinea. It has a strong anthropological bent:

Thus Malinowski speaks of religious conceptualisations as "indispensable pragmatic figments without which civilisation cannot exist" [cited from M.J. Needham] and Raymond Firth concludes: "It is not possible for human society to exist without some forms of symbolic solutions which rest on non-empirical foundations.(1)

This would be followed by the observation: "Today Christianity no longer has their acknowledged primacy [...]"(2)

Some of this anthropological background, probably drawn from his earlier reading of the Traditionalist, or Perennial, philosophers René Guénon and A.K. Coomaraswamy, is reflected in McAuley's subsequent published essays on traditional society and their art written close to and after his conversion to Catholicism (between July 1951 and June 1952)— "A Traditional View of Art" (1951),¹ "Tradition, Society and the Arts" (1952) and his Commonwealth Literary Fund lecture "The Grinning Mirror" (1955). While one of those texts refers to Catholicism in Australia,² they don't refer to the missions directly. However, in their critique of modernity's anti-traditional tendency, there is sympathy for the life of traditional societies which McAuley was witnessing in his visits to New Guinea and especially the most frequently visited Catholic Mission of the Sacred Heart, "Florival" at Kubuna, and their nearby Mission at Yule Island. By the end of 1951 McAuley already seems to have visited New Guinea five times and the Missions at Kubuna and Yule Island four times.

McAuley's testimonial and farewell essay "My New Guinea" offers an overview of his time in the northern islands. In his first trip towards the end of World War II in early 1944, McAuley visited Manus Island, off northern New Guinea and commented on the resentment of the local Peri people of the Australian administration and also the Catholic missions:

Their frustrated longing and resentments turned them against the Catholic Mission too. To the Melanesian a religion is above all a technology: it is the knowledge of how to bring the community into the correct relation, by rites and spells, with the divinities and spirit beings and cosmic forces that can make or mar man's this-worldly

wealth and well-being [...] If the Catholic missionaries had the “secret of the wealth” they were keeping it shut away from the people [...] (MNG, 24)

This he linked with the practice of the “Cargo Cult”—the throwing into the sea of all old forms of property, including the religion of the missionaries, in preparation to receive the “Cargo”—white man’s wealth.

A critique of contemporary secular approaches to development becomes apparent in his 1954 essay “What Must Be Developed” for the regional affairs magazine *United Asia*, 1954. President Truman’s proposal for development for the non-industrialised world—(“[...] Development promotes democracy [...] Human resources [...] now in the main latent [...] will emerge into a world-wide spring-time [...], 184) was criticised in the following words:

[...] a terrible price is exacted for development along the lines of Western modernism.”(184) [...] The world of industrial progress is a world of disinherited beings, cut off from the deepest sources of human satisfaction, restless and jangled, driven by unstilled cravings through a course of life without meaning or direction.[...]. (184)

McAuley’s essay echoes papal doctrine cautioning against capitalism, and probably reflects the fact that its author had already converted to the Catholic faith. His Notebooks show that McAuley would read encyclicals while visiting the Kubuna and Yule Island Missions. He argues that development for people of “different traditions”, having “religious conceptualisations”, was less likely to come from the purely secular, positivist realm than from one which encompassed greater understanding of the local and their difference. He argued for the need for:

[...] the loyal development from within of the wealth of these different traditions, [...] will proceed all the more effectively in the light of a real knowledge of and respect for other traditions.[...] (186)

The 27-year-old lecturer on governance first visited the French Mission of the Sacred Heart, Kubuna, in 1944 as part of his first trip to New Guinea. It clearly made a strong impression as it would be on the itinerary of many later visits. He would later note how:

The gaiety, charm, practical good sense and endurance which I found so conspicuously among the French missionaries, are more often than not, acquired and perfected at the price of pain and desolation. (MNG, 29)

In an unpublished article, dated 1961, for the Catholic magazine *Prospect*, McAuley offered a positive account of the missions in general: “There are plenty of truly admirable missionaries in New Guinea. It has been my good

fortune to have met some of them, to have seen a little of their work and to have been influenced by them.”(3)³ An accumulation of encounters with Kubuna and Yule Island elicited a particularly positive personal response both to the Missions’ approach to development and in terms of McAuley’s own spiritual journey:

[...] I owe an incalculable spiritual debt to several missionaries in New Guinea, some still alive and some dead. [...] One of the latter was a person whom I never met except as a presence persisting in the mission, Mother Marie-Thérèse Noblet. [...] She] was the first head of the native order of sisters which Archbishop de Boismenu founded at the end of World War I as a direct response to the call of Benedict XV for the “nativisation” of missions. [...] (3-4)

He noted the Sacred Heart Missions’ precocity: “These long ago projects were followed only after World War II by the bigger and more prosperous Catholic missions in other parts of New Guinea”. (Ibid., 4)

In *My New Guinea* McAuley would describe Archbishop Alain De Boismenu as :

[...] the person in my experience who most completely exemplified “greatness” —an inspiring force of mind and will, large views, courage, intense affections and complete self-abnegation, cheerfulness, candour, a noble simplicity devoid of pretensions [...] And behind these qualities [...] a rare sanctity and unerring spiritual detachment. (MNG, 27)

Though retired and elderly, De Boismenu was still a powerful presence at the Kubuna and Yule Island Missions in the Mekeo district of New Guinea near Port Moresby which McAuley used to visit. McAuley’s Notebooks suggest that the young lecturer had met the Archbishop at least by 1949 but possibly earlier. The February 1949 Notebook records that he heard the mountain song of the region, attended the Kubuna Mission’s “sung mass and benediction” and met Archbishop de Boismenu. During that visit McAuley had already observed, at the mission, Pineau’s 1938 text⁴ on the case for the beatification of Mother Superior Marie-Thérèse Noblet. In his next visit, in July-August 1951, McAuley would discuss with the Archbishop, as well as the Missions’ work, his own comprehensive reading over the past two years including on the Traditional philosophers, the ideas of the French Catholic Perennialist poet Paul Claudel, and also questions on the Christian faith that bore on McAuley’s decision to convert to Catholicism in July 1951. He would also look again at Pineau’s text on Noblet.

De Boismenu was McAuley’s chief link with the deceased and already legendary Mother Superior. Tales of the apparently demonic attacks upon her, of exorcisms including those performed by de Boismenu, her saintly stigmati and subsequent humble but impressive ministry in the Kubuna Mission, and her later candidacy for beatification, seemed to provide for McAuley the evidence, in modern times, of the miraculous and also the demonic such as had swayed the disciples in the Gospels:

[...] The life of Marie-Thérèse Noblet presents both believer and unbeliever with a startling and disconcerting challenge. It was the locus not only of divine action but of violent and outrageous demonic action.[...] (MNG, 28)

While such evidence was crucial to his conversion, McAuley would admit that such facts might “[...] not be in conformity with sober Anglo-Saxon good taste.” (MNG, 28) He would remark on the ironic turn in his spiritual life in New Guinea:

[...] If it was in the midst of Sir James Frazer’s speculations on the primitive that my early religious faith succumbed, it was in the midst of the actually primitive that it stirred and woke at last to a fuller and more assured life. (MNG, 28)

McAuley would dedicate to Mother Marie-Thérèse Noblet his next collection of poems, *A Vision of Ceremony* (1956), his first published as a confessed Catholic.

The importance both of New Guinea and the Kubuna Mission to McAuley’s decision to convert to Catholicism can be seen in his letter to his wife Norma written on 29 July 1951 at the mission during his recuperation there from malaria:

[...] As you know, for some time past, I have been drawn more and more into a serious consideration of the Catholic faith.[...]

I resolved to try my state of mind against a changed background and if possible make my final decision at Kubuna. [...]

Here in the Mission conviction is easier than in the world at large. The outsider comes into contact with a Catholicism that is something more than a question of Labour [sic] party politics or medical ethics or Pellegrini art. This Mission has been unusually gifted with persons of saintly life [...] Something of the radiance of true spirituality can be felt here. Moreover, the Mission has been the scene of some of those miraculous and supernatural manifestations which have attended the Church from the time of the Gospels [...] (Box 21, McAuley papers)

New Guinea, the Kubuna Mission, and the associated supernatural elements, offered an exotic backdrop necessary to his conversion – quite different to what might have been possible in predominantly secular and Protestant Australia. The “radiant” spiritual ambiance McAuley felt at the Mission is also conveyed in the poem “Kubuna” written at the Mission on 3 August 1951. The simplicity and intense focus on minute detail of the interior scene where he was recuperating, foreshadows his convalescent poems of the early 1970s written after treatment for cancer:

I draw attention to the allusion in stanza 2 to the quiet sister, one of two European sisters, who “had a saint once in her care.” That saint was Marie-Thérèse Noblet who died at Kubuna in 1930:

After long envenomed hours
Sick with fever, aching head,
To see a vase of fresh cut flowers,
Clean pillows and a new-made bed.

*The quiet Sister clothed in grey,⁵
Who had a saint once in her care,
Clears the medicines away
And lets in the sweet light and air.*

Through the shutters, open wide,
Discreetly comes a scented breeze
That tells of the rich world outside,
Of green leaves and the citrus trees.

To tempt the body back to use
With a sweet fresh water fish,
A sauce and sprinkled lemon-juice,
And a custard in a dish.

To sink into a dream of home
Or propped in comfort, idly look,
While the sheep of fancy roam,
In a gold-illuminated book.

To see the Virgin aureoled,
With little hand upraised to bless,

Holding Him who shall uphold
All creations in their feebleness.

Kubuna, in your peaceful vale
Lies earth's peace, and something more:
The suffering that does not fail,
The joy of those that go before.

The gold-illuminated book in stanza 5 is perhaps a replica of the devotional Book of Hours containing liturgical texts, prayers and psalms. Stanza 7 depicts Kubuna as the idyllic haven for the practice and propagation of the Catholic faith in a culture where, in anthropological terms, the ritual life was still flourishing. McAuley was received into the Catholic faith in North Ryde, Sydney, the following year in May 1952 and his wife Norma not long after.

McAuley would maintain his strong interest in New Guinea and the work of the missions but, as a Catholic convert by the mid 1950s, 10 years after his first visit to New Guinea, would become involved in and occupied with Catholic politics in Australia in B.A. Santamaria's struggle through his Catholic Social Studies Movement against communist elements in the trade unions. Ten years after his first visit to New Guinea, the then 37-year-old Sydney public servant and poet James McAuley came to Santamaria's attention in a letter he wrote to the Sydney Morning Herald on 29 October 1954 attacking Prime Minister Evatt for blaming "disloyal Victorian party members" (anti-communist Catholic groupers) for poor election results for Labor. Santamaria conveyed his thanks to the unknown McAuley through their mutual friend, the industrial lawyer Hal Wootton. McAuley would write to Santamaria in early 1955 suggesting the idea of a Bishop's statement on relations between Australia and New Guinea. I don't know if anything eventuated in a statement. Thereafter McAuley would become involved in the acrimonious split between the ALP and what would become the mainly Catholic anti-communist DLP. The years between 1955 and 1961 reflect a stepping back from public pronouncements on New Guinea. This was not entirely of McAuley's own accord: as a public servant he had been cautioned by the then Minister for Territories, and also aspiring poet, Paul Hasluck against making public statements or publishing on New Guinea questions.

The influence of New Guinea is clearly present in McAuley's poetic production of the time, the celebratory poems of the 1950s following his conversion, notably the apprehension of the bird of paradise as a

manifestation of the Holy Spirit (“To the Holy Spirit,” 1953).⁶ The long narrative poem *Captain Quiros* written between 1958 and 1960 in which he depicts the Portuguese and Spanish encounter with the Pacific islands, notably the Solomon and Vanuatu Islands, in their early 17th century exploratory voyages, is saturated with his experience of New Guinea, its people, their customs and its nature. Arguably, his witnessing of the missions’ incorporation of local customs and arts in their rituals is reflected in the poet’s description of Quiros’ attempt to set up an order of the Holy Spirit in one of the islands (still named Espiritu Santo) of what is now Vanuatu: “A cross made of the native citrus wood/ Was planted by a flower-decked altar-frame[...].” (*Collected Poems* 1936-1970, 157). The explorer Quiros’ struggle with officials in the Church of Rome to pursue his utopian goal to find *Terra Australis*, is also tinged with Santamaria’s contemporary battle with the NSW Catholic hierarchy of Cardinal Gilroy on the role of the Church in giving political guidance to its parishioners, a matter which would be taken to the Vatican in 1957.

McAuley’s unpublished draft essay for *Prospect*, written in 1961 probably after he had left ASOPA, still reflects his ongoing concern about New Guinea and its missions:

I agree that Australia is in no position to stand out of the stream of events and enforce a different kind of solution for Papua and New Guinea [...]. The most important aspect is the future of the Christian missions. I shall speak only of the Catholic missions because I know them better and can exercise a sort of family frankness about them; but much of what I say has some application to the work of other Christian bodies [...] (1-2)

He saw missionary work in the Pacific islands, as: “subject to two kinds of false imaging which make the reality pretty remote and impenetrable to the distant observer[...].” Such imaging came from:

[...] the hostile caricaturing of missions from the secular side [and] resentment [on the part of colonial settlers] of the missions for rebuking greed and exploitation(2)

[...] romantic illusions about the paradisaical idyll of native traditional life, which missionaries are supposed to disrupt by injecting a sense of sin. (3)

McAuley saw the successful missionary as one who had had “all sentimentality burnt out of him” (3). He would argue the need for “a renewal of de Boismenu’s kind of generous, imperious, “premature” daring” and

propose four avenues⁸ for such renewal:

1. prayer, as the highest action — he noted how de Boismenu had succeeded in “luring a flock of enclosed Carmelite nuns to his headquarters at Yule Island” (5)
2. “intellectual enabling” via modern scientific sociology” (mainly social anthropology)(6)
3. the proclamation of the Church’s social doctrine, via Bishop’s Statements, relating to labour, land, economic organisation for commercial purposes, marriage law, urbanisation, political rights and duties, marriage, citizenship standards of good citizenship and neighbourliness (7)
4. training secular agents in political parties, trade unions, the public service, co-operatives and the professions (8)

Impediments to Mission success were identified in some “authoritarian-paternalist approaches,” (8), “the financial semi-starvation of the mission school-system” (8-9) including through an Australian “policy weighted towards secularism” (9), and “the appalling ratio between their resources and the work that has to be done.” (9)

In McAuley’s writing, there is a persistent sense of contrast between evident and rich spiritual remnants in New Guinea and what he saw as the desiccating secular influence of the west, representing a tragedy for New Guinea. McAuley lamented the “disintegration of traditional cultures,” (MNG, 30) and the emergence of a “sterile secularism” and “disintegrated liberalism”(31). His farewell essay was, in many ways, an admission of failure as much as a declaration of concern: “Very often I have been invaded by a feeling of the sterility of our contact with New Guinea. So much courage [...] so much good work [...] yet nothing seems to take deep root, and nothing flowers.” (MNG, 31)

The literary critic Robert Dixon,⁹ has identified, in McAuley’s critique of modernity’s effects on traditional New Guinea, a link between dystopian elements in the observation both of colonialism and the suburban. Dixon argues that, in this respect, McAuley shared the perspectives not only of English “culturalist” critics of the 1930s and 1940s such as F.R. Leavis (*Mass Civilisation and Minority Culture*, 1930) and T.S. Eliot (*Notes Toward the Definition of Culture*, 1948) but also of the Frankfurt School theorists Adorno and Horkheimer, in their commentary about mass culture in *The Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944).¹⁰ Dixon argues:

A remarkable feature of this attack on modernity is that McAuley

could be speaking equally about contemporary western societies, or about westernised societies in the third world. Suburb and colony come together on the common ground of modernity. [...] ¹¹

In McAuley's essays, modern New Guinea is Australian suburbia beheld like an unfamiliar self in the grinning mirror of colonialism.¹²

McAuley's New Guinea experience also contributed to his developing poetics. His search for a rich traditional symbolism, seen in his early essays on the traditional arts, drove his initial enquiry into traditional societies, their art and the western traditionalism of the Catholic church, as a remedy for contemporary positivism and scepticism. This was one of the elements behind his conversion, as he admitted in his second letter from Kubuna to his wife Norma in Sydney on 27 August 1951:

Another prompting that gradually worked upon me came from art and literature. I saw more and more clearly that the art that I most admired and loved was rooted in a spiritual tradition. From my own experience of creative inspiration I could not but acknowledge that the way one's mind works naturally under inspiration is incompatible with all shallow, sceptical and merely sophisticated views of life. (4)

New Guinea and the Catholic experience offered the poet more than a rationally approached symbolic mythology. In McAuley's elegy in 1953 for Archbishop de Boismenu in the poem "New Guinea" it is clear that McAuley's own encounter involved an apprehension of the spiritual in New Guinea's "actually primitive" physical and cultural world. Perhaps more than any of his rational accounts, the poem summarises the magnitude of McAuley's encounter, the "wordless revelation", through that of Boismenu and the other Catholic missionaries, with the place in that northern island in which "the doors of the spirit open:"

Bird-shaped island, with secretive bird-voices,
Land of apocalypse, where the earth dances,
The mountains speak, *the doors of the spirit open*,¹³
And men are shaken by obscure trances.

The forest-odours, insects, clouds and fountains
Are like the figures of my inmost dream,
Vibrant with untellable recognition;
A wordless revelation is their theme.

The stranger is engulfed in those high valleys,
Where mists of morning linger like the breath
Of Wisdom moving on our specular darkness.
Regions of prayer, of solitude, and death.

Life holds its shape in the modes of dance and music,
The hands of craftsmen trace its patternings;
But stains of blood, and *evil spirits, lurk*
Like cockroaches, *in the interstices of things*.

We that in the land begin our rule in courage,
The seal of peace gives warrant to intrusion;
But then *our grin of emptiness* breaks the skin,
Formless dishonour spreads its proud confusion.

Whence that deep longing for an exorcizer,
For Christ descending as a thaumaturge
Into his saints, as formerly in the desert,
Warring with demons on the outer verge.

Only by this can life become authentic,
Configured henceforth in eternal mode:
Splendour, simplicity, joy—such as were seen
In one who now rests by his mountain road.
(James McAuley, *My New Guinea*, 1953, *Collected Poems*, 1936–70)

The “New Guinea” of De Boismenu and his witness, the implicit author McAuley, thus describes a fertile land of the imaginary. The poem’s scenario reflects the heroic missionary encounter with a rich and strange otherworld of “specular darkness” where the witnessing of “evil spirits, [...] lurk[ing] [...] in the interstices of things” was still a literal possibility. The poem also foreshadows the sterilising impact of secular influences, “the grin of emptiness” of the West of which, both the Australian administration, colonists and the missionaries (though perhaps less) in the northern island, were also part. For De Boismenu (1870-1953) and Marie-Thérèse Noblet (1889-1930) New Guinea had been a “school of detachment and sanctity” (MNG, 27) as it also became for their acolyte James McAuley.

I hesitate to assess McAuley’s ability to judge or evaluate the missions in New Guinea. He was new both to anthropology and to Catholicism, his

conversion largely thanks to the Sacred Heart Missions' special charismatic influence as well as the impact of place and culture. But he came to know some of the missions as an outsider and two missions, increasingly, as a sympathiser and supporter. The extracts from his life and writing presented here offer facets about those New Guinea missions as viewed in the period immediately after World War II, and their particular, perhaps inordinate significance, for the emerging poet's own spiritual re-orientation in his dual encounter with modernity both in New Guinea and at the same time in Australia. This, in turn, would contribute to his engagement in political and literary culture including the setting up of the literary and general affairs magazine *Quadrant* over which McAuley would have a guiding role almost until his death in 1976.

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Notes

- 1 The essay’s title would become “Beauty, Use and Meaning” in the collection *The End of Modernity* (1959)
- 2 James McAuley, “The Grinning Mirror,” (1955), *The End of Modernity*, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1959
- 3 Unpublished draft article “Missions and the Coming Crisis in New Guinea”
- 4 A. Pineau, *Marie-Thérèse Noblet*, Issoudoun, 1935
- 5 Writer’s italics
- 6 The poet saw New Guinea as belonging to the spiritual order of the Bird of Paradise, “Missions and the Coming Crisis in New Guinea” (5)
- 7 “Missions and the Coming Crisis in New Guinea”.
- 8 McAuley qualified: “[...]such compression might make me seem more confident and dogmatic than I really am [...]” “Missions and the Coming Crisis in New Guinea,” (5)
- 9 Robert Dixon, “James McAuley’s New Guinea”
- 10 Robert Dixon, 158.
- 11 Ibidem, 158.
- 12 Ibidem, 174
- 13 Writer’s italics